

Fellowship

April, 1950

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There were cherubims in New Mexico:
And the flaming sword turned every way at once,
To keep the way of the Tree of Life,
.....

For how shall we be peacemakers
Who will not make our peace with Love?
And how shall we say to the cherubims
Blocking the way to the Tree of Life:
Put up your sword,—
If we do not the commandments of Love?
Rise and pray, lest ye enter into temptation.

For once again, Love, the Very God,
Has delivered Himself into our treacherous hands.

—FLORENCE CONVERSE
From Prologue to Peace

Calculated Risk, by Alfred Hassler

The Southern Minister and Race, by Edwin L. Brock

The Doctrine of Perfection—II, by A. J. Muste

The Difficult Upthrusting Way, by Allan A. Hunter

ff THE HYDROGEN BOMB does not present any new moral issues, we are continually told, as if mankind had taken care of all the old moral issues and had nothing to worry about. But though it is true that no new moral issue is raised, the old ones are highlighted with a vengeance. What we've got is a lot of old familiar moral issues that man has bungled over and over, with a higher and higher price being put on bungling every day. In the light of this situation, Alfred Hassler puts in a word for the *Calculated Risk*, which pacifists offer as an alternative to the incalculable destruction which they believe is inevitable if mankind follows its present course. . . . Edwin Brock tells what it's like to be a white minister in the South and concerned about the race problem. His present charge is in Angie, Louisiana. . . . A. J. Muste continues his discussion of perfectionism and its Niebuhrian critics. In May he will take up the subject of utopianism. . . . Allan Hunter, of the Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church in Los Angeles, tells how, against overwhelming odds, men can still take *The Difficult Upthrusting Way*.

FELLOWSHIP

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the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

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Subheads

Wake

There has been considerable grieving among pacifists recently for our dear departed brother, Democracy, and this department has several times been invited to sit in on the wake of this once-loved member of our society who reportedly has gone to the better land beloved of all friends of the late Old Black Joe. The blow that finally finished off the already ailing brother, it is reported, was the decision of Prexy Truman, without consultation with the sovereign citizenry, to proceed with construction of the hydrogen bomb.

Contrarily, we have decided to take a rain check. Somehow we have an illogical suspicion that the corpse may not be quite ready, in spite of all the complications of the last illness, including a virulent rash of loyalty oaths, the Supreme Court's approval of invasion of a man's home without a warrant, and the insistence of the President

and State Department that it would be useless to try again to discuss peace with the Russians.

The spark of life seems to us to be flickering most hopefully at the moment in the Senate, where the chairman of the Armed Services Committee has proposed world disarmament and the chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee has suggested a \$50 billion program of help to nations that need it, including Russia. Though the Administration sniffed disapprovingly, thousands of less highly placed Americans have deluged the Senate with letters of approval and encouragement, and one fairly responsible commentator predicted that the Senate might be so encouraged by this that it would inject a really creative proposal into the conduct of foreign affairs.

Emancipation

A General Fellers, whom we fail to identify at the moment, is quoted in the *Congressional Record* as having announced that "the belief that might makes right is un-Christian. Peace can stem only

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from things of the spirit." The General then proceeded to spoil things by adding that the United States needs a "psychological program against Russia," which would enlist many Russians who "would risk their lives to emancipate their enslaved people."

We think General Fellers would have been more consistent if he had said that Americans don't need any kind of program against anybody nearly as much as they need one against their own fear and the power complex that seems to have infected them. And that the biggest help they could give the Russians he mentions would be to start acting once more like democrats, convinced that freedom has its own strength and does not need to be hidden out of sight for safekeeping.

Houses

We read in the papers that Congressional enthusiasm for the so-called co-op housing bill has waned considerably, and that one major reason is that many members of Congress are "satisfied" that private industry is now building homes for middle-income families satisfactory in quality and quantity. From the vantage point of a housing cooperative that has actually been building houses for middle-income families, without noticeable aid or encouragement from any branch of government, we can report:

1. Private industry is building more houses in the moderate price field, \$8,000 to \$10,000, than it was. In this part of the country, the middle-income family gets for that amount of money a small box of a

house, exactly like its neighboring 50 or 100 houses, with four rooms downstairs and an unfinished attic labelled "expansion," on a pocket-handkerchief of land.

2. A housing cooperative, competently run and able to secure adequate financing, can construct for the same money a house half again as large, on twice as much land, in a community planned for living instead of profits.

3. There is very little authoritative advice available to housing co-ops, and relatively few are competently run.

4. It is much easier for a speculative builder to get financing than for a housing co-op which, in effect, has sold all its homes before construction has begun.

5. The Federal Housing Administration, which is popularly supposed to include provisions helpful to co-ops, keeps all such provisions very well hidden.

6. Most bankers, realtors, and local officials are suspicious of and antagonistic to the idea of cooperatives, which they frequently call "Red." Our own guess is that co-op officers applying for mortgage loans or municipal approval will soon be asked to take a loyalty oath.

One or More Worlds

Just in case you thought Garry Davis was having everything his own way, we bring you a catechism repeated monthly by the members of the Junior American Citizens Club of Stewartstown, Pa. The club is sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution, holds its meetings during

school hours, and automatically includes all boys and girls of the 7th and 8th grades.

We are members of what big club?

We are members of the Junior American Citizens Club.

What is our own club called?

Our club is called the "Little Stewarts Club."

What is our motto?

Our motto is "Justice, Americanism, Character."

What does it mean?

It means that we should always do the thing that's honest, kind and true,

To prove our love for those at home,

To love our country where'er we roam.

What country for us?

No country but the United States of America.

What flag for us?

No flag but the Star Spangled Banner.

Ominous

Just when the Russians have put out some cautious feelers about new discussions on atom-bomb control, and American Senators are demanding new peace moves, the A. C. Gilbert Company comes up with a "toy" atomic energy kit for \$42.50. The kit is entirely harmless, say the Gilberts, but they can't reassure us. You get mil-

lions of kids fooling around with any kind of radioactive material, and sooner or later one of them's going to find a way to blow everything up. And think of the inspection system the UN will need to prevent *that*!

Babbler

"I am disturbed by those who babble that if we had Universal Training we would not need a Selective Service system."

—General Hershey, Nov. 30, 1949.

"The Secretary [Defense Secretary Louis Johnson] said that the Administration would not ask for UMT during the next three years provided there was an adequate Selective Service system. He added that if a program of UMT had been enacted in 1945 he would not have to urge the extension of Selective Service now."

—New York Times, Jan. 21, 1950.

Major-General Delivery

Our Washington correspondent advises that a new front has been opened in the cold war by the post offices of the U. S. and Russia. The Soviets have a stamp labelled "For Peace," showing a stalwart worker fending off with his bare hands the torch of war, wielded by a villain with a remarkable resemblance to Uncle Sam. The Americans, more subtle in their approach, are countering with a stamp celebrating the unification of the armed forces as a move toward peace.

Lick those stamps, men!

ARE PACIFISTS FOOLISH VISIONARIES,
OR ARE THEY REALISTS TAKING A

Calculated Risk

By ALFRED HASSLER

BY AND LARGE, there are two important approaches by which people come to the pacifist position.

One, primarily religious, takes for its starting point the personal conviction that it is wrong deliberately to take human life.

It claims that every man has in him what the Quakers call "something of God," and that there are laws of human conduct no less sure and inflexible than the law of gravity. It says that love is a stronger force than hate and violence—that it is indeed the *only* force in the long run that works—and that men will only build lasting peace when they take as their foundation the realization that they are brothers.

The other approach begins from a conclusion, reached through the more-or-less careful exercise of logic, that war is irrational and unsuccessful, failing generally to come to grips with basic issues, and creating multiplied problems for each difficulty it eliminates.

Each of these has its variations, and in most pacifists there is a complex overlapping of the two, with edges blurred so that it would be difficult to determine where one leaves off and the other begins. The two are there, nonetheless, and some come to pacifism through one and some through the other, and frequently one grows out the other, so that the man who begins with a

conviction that love is the strongest force in the universe must soon try to discover what are the political and social implications of such a decision.

It is when pacifists attempt to formulate and express to nonpacifists the outlines of such a political program that the difficulties begin to arise. Obviously, such a program will sound revolutionary. Unilateral disarmament, for example, sounds no less implausible to the modern American steeped in the idea of security guaranteed by navies and air forces than would the advice that a man suffering from fear of high places cure himself by stepping out of a tenth-story window.

No Guarantees

When the pacifist proposes such visionary measures as the disarming of aggressor nations by a program of active good will, therefore, the retort is inevitable: "But how can you be sure that . . . ?" or "Suppose after we've disarmed . . ." and so on. The audience wants guarantees, and the pacifist has no guarantees. He offers his arguments about the nature of modern war and the nature of modern man, and he admits that his program entails a risk—a calculated risk. And the audience, except for a few visionaries like himself, walks out, polite, wistful maybe, but skeptical, unwilling to risk its neck with a

program that admits it cannot offer guarantees.

It walks out, to return to the largely uncalculated risk of a foreign policy that finds expression in the Truman Doctrine and the North Atlantic Pact, or perhaps to the no more carefully appraised hazards of a proposed armed federal union of the non-Communist nations of the world. Because no insurance company underwrites the success of the State Department either, or will guarantee to rebuild a world destroyed by the hydrogen bomb!

In itself, of course, this observation is not enough. Few Americans will switch to pacifism merely because they have it pointed out to them that the present course of national policy gives no assurance of peace. They know that already, as the present state of "nerves" in the country indicates. But with the new shaking-up the hydrogen bomb has given to old concepts, perhaps some rethinking of the comparative risks of both policies would do some good.

I. Armaments for Peace

Stated broadly, the case for a large air force, the Military Assistance Program, and the hydrogen bomb, is that such a preparedness for war will (a) probably avert war by making victory appear both unlikely and too costly to the enemy, and (b) assure victory and the continuation of western democracy should war actually come. A sub-point advanced rather gingerly is that possession of the hydrogen bomb will actually be a deterrent to its use, since retaliation would be so swift and horrible.

There are four obvious risks, all verging on probabilities, in this course.

Risk 1: It May Not Avert War.

There have been occasions in history when a preponderance of power in the hands of one nation or an alliance of nations maintained a state of near-peace over an extended period. The Roman Empire provided one such example in ancient times; Great Britain and its balance-of-power policy during the 19th Century is the most recent of such successes.

The situation today is vastly different. Rome possessed overwhelming strength as the only power-state in existence. Britain dominated a half-dozen states of limited and roughly comparable strength, and by throwing her own weight with whichever group seemed weaker at any given time could bring the power-situation back into equilibrium. Even so, the jealousy and fear that such dominance developed in other nations, notably Germany, eventually exploded the *Pax Britannica* in World War I.

Today power is concentrated in two enormous states, each more powerful than anything before in history, each with its group of satellites, each almost psychopathically jealous and fearful of the other. Industrially and economically, the Communist bloc of states, which now includes China, is on the upgrade, and while economic warfare by the United States may retard, it cannot hope to arrest such progress in the vast areas affected. The rapid acquisition of the atomic bomb by the Russians, sooner than American scientists had predicted, and the probability that Soviet scientists are now working on the hydrogen bomb, indicate clearly the direction this industrial rivalry is taking.

Arms races in the past have led

to war, and there seems no reason to believe that they will go anywhere else in the future. Americans who believe that the Soviet reaction to a still more powerful United States will be disarmament and surrender can measure the realism of their thinking by trying the shoe on the other foot. Whatever we may think of our own motives, it seems clear that the Soviet citizenry generally suspect and fear the Americans as much as the Americans fear them.

The Human Element

There might still be a theoretical argument for the position that if the two powers were to stay roughly equal in strength, both the cost of war and the possibility of defeat would restrain them from beginning hostilities. What such a theory does not take into effect is that the power-relationship is not static, but fluid. A nation whose nerves have been rasped by years of tension and suspicion, more and more convinced that eventual war is inevitable, will finally in desperation seize what looks like the best opportunity to end the intolerable strain by attacking first.

Such a development is made even more probable, of course, by the nature of modern weapons, which now hold out the illusion of winning a war with one swift blow. Voices have been raised in this country already in behalf of the so-called preventive war, and the same possibility probably has occurred to someone in the Kremlin. As the horrified-but-acquiescent scientists of both nations produce more and more of the paraphernalia of push-button war, the logic of the preventive blow will become increasingly difficult

to answer. If the enemy has the ability, and perhaps the inclination, to destroy you at ten o'clock, what is more reasonable than to destroy him at nine?

Risk 2: It May Not Win. The risk here for Americans is, of course, enormous. Indeed, one of the arguments for the preventive war is that when the USSR is able to wage atomic war, the United States will be much more vulnerable than its "enemy" to such attacks. American industry and population alike provide concentrated targets for atom-warfare to a far greater extent than does Russia.¹

Moreover, America's allies in Europe, torn by political dissension and terribly weakened by the last war, could be overrun by the Red Army long before the United States could hope to bring any real strength to bear on that continent. The Western Hemisphere then would be isolated in a hostile world, and unless it could win a complete victory by air power, would have to settle either for a stalemate or an unbelievably difficult invasion first of the Continent and then of Russia itself. The experience of two gentlemen named Napoleon and Hitler gives slight promise of success in such a venture.

Risk 3: Even If We Win, We Lose. Let us suppose that the war has come and, by the prolific use of atomic bombs and perhaps germ warfare, the United States has forced the surrender of its enemy. It then would face the same problems of hunger, devastation and resentment as existed after the last

¹ Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, head of Nuclear Physics Branch, Office of Naval Research, New York Times, Feb. 12, 1950.

war, but multiplied a thousand times. The victors would have to police half of a world for an indefinite future; themselves much poorer, they would face the necessity of economic rehabilitation of every other nation on the face of the earth; and in addition to these "normal" after-effects of war, they would have to cope with the terrible results of radiation and artificially contrived disease on an enormous scale.

To believe that any rudiments of democracy could survive such a holocaust is folly. Universal conscription of men and women would be inevitable, as would complete economic controls. To counter the opposition such tactics would raise, a totalitarian government, with the standard thought-police, would be indispensable. Freedom would still be a word, and probably a government slogan, but it would be freedom to obey and be silent, or die.

Risk 4: The Hydrogen Bomb. The hope that the hydrogen bomb, other atomic weapons, and biological warfare will not be used is so slight as not to be worth considering. No effective weapon has been invented that has not been used, though the inventors of several have assured the public that they would not. Nobel, who invented

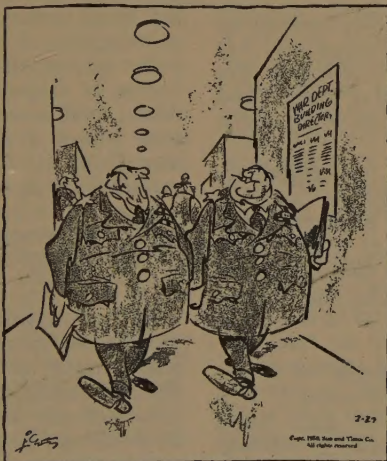
dynamite, was sure that he had found an effective force for peace, since the new explosive was so deadly no one would ever risk using it. Gatling was similarly convinced when he had perfected the machine gun, and there was many a pundit

in the early days of the airplane to assure the public that this new weapon certainly would eradicate war from the face of the earth. The fact is that all-out war becomes a matter of national survival, and men who did not hesitate at saturation- and fire-bombing of whole cities would not be likely to recoil in horror from the use of germs or split and fused atoms.

What the maximum potential destructiveness of the hydrogen bomb may be no layman is equipped to say. Each new batch of horror stories is followed by a disclaimer from someone in authority who asserts that the possibilities have been greatly exaggerated. For what they are worth, however, these are some of the warnings that have been made:

The Hiroshima atomic "fission" bomb killed 100,000 people. The H-bomb has been variously estimated as potentially from 100 to 1000 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb.

Albert Einstein, the world's fore-



George Lichty—Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate

"Too bad the Russians got those H-Bomb secrets . . . our bum luck if we found out they could blow up the world before we had a chance to . . ."

most scientist and not given to concocting fantasies, told a television audience that with the H-bomb "radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities."²

Dr. Leo Szilard, biophysicist at the University of Chicago and top atomic scientist, asserted that the H-bomb could spread a "dust cloud of death" that would kill every person on earth.³

Dr. Allan Munn, described by the United Press as one of Canada's foremost physicists, expressed the fear that explosion of a hydrogen bomb might set off a chain reaction that would circle the earth and cause it to disintegrate in less than a minute.⁴

It may be that none of these more extreme hazards actually will occur, and the world may come through an atomic war physically intact and still capable of sustaining life. Still the risk is there, and it is part of the price that men must be willing to pay if they continue to put their trust in war.

II. Disarmament for Peace

The case for a "pacifist foreign policy" is more than the argument that any alternative is better than continuing the way we are going. It is built on a philosophy of life that has things to say about the nature of man, and certain universal "laws," and about the self-defeating character of violence.

Pacifists are at least as concerned about freedom, and the dignity of the individual, as non-

pacifists. They are equally reluctant to yield the social and political gains that man has made, to a dictator. But they maintain that the time has come when the continuance of the war system will mean the sacrifice of all human values, and that the only hope of preserving those values is the adoption of a program of revolutionary good will, disarmament, ending of all forms of imperialism and exploitation, and nonviolent resistance to evil where evil must be resisted. The risks in such a position are summed up in two principal arguments.

Risk 1: It Would Be Interpreted as Weakness. This argument always comes up. If the United States were to disarm, it runs, Russia would interpret it as surrender, and would at once overrun all Europe and Asia, and, subsequently, the Western Hemisphere as well. It would be better, says this argument, to take the chance of annihilation than to submit to tyranny.

Pacifists acknowledge that this might happen, particularly if America's new policy were to consist of disarmament and nothing else. But disarmament would be only part of the story. The rest, which would accompany the announcement of disarmament, would be an offer by the United States, richest of all nations, to put the money and effort it had used on war into a sincere attempt to raise the standard of living all over the world, and to establish freedom for all men everywhere. Such a program, though complex in its details, would be simple in principle, and would be greeted with relief and joy everywhere in the world.

In this day of total war, the

² New York Times, Feb. 13, 1950.

³ New York Post, Feb. 27, 1950.

⁴ New York Post, Feb. 16, 1950.

pacifist argues, no government can make war without the approval and support of its citizens. Whatever its motives may appear to be to others, it can win this internal support only by convincing its citizens that they are fighting in a just cause, or in actual self-defense. This was the case with the Nazis, who, for all their iron control of Germany, still had to maintain an incessant barrage of propaganda in order to hold their people's loyalty. So it is also with the Soviet Union, which justifies all its aggressive moves and its heavy armaments by pointing to the "enmity" of the capitalistic West, and particularly the heavily armed U. S.

With the disarmament of the United States, and the announcement of such a program of world aid, this argument would disappear. No propaganda machine could for long keep such news from the Russian people, and to continue as a threat to the rest of the world the Soviet rulers would have to acknowledge frankly imperialistic and militaristic aims. In the face of the admitted deep longing for peace on the part of the Russian people, such an act would mean the end of the government that proposed it.⁵

⁵ An objection likely to be raised here is that the Soviet Union could still point to European nations outside its orbit as a "threat" justifying its continued militarization. An examination of the Russian tirades against European countries against which it is preparing to launch an offensive (e.g. Finland) shows plainly that the excuse given is that the nation in question is a "puppet" of the United States, and may be used as an American military base from which to launch attacks against Russia. The notion that Western Europe, even if it were united, could constitute a serious threat to the USSR without American military and economic assistance is obviously absurd.

Such a program also would automatically undermine the appeal of communism all over the world. For communism purports to stand for the ending of war and imperialism, and excuses its present armed state by blaming the bellicose intentions of capitalism. But with America disarmed and exhibiting a genuine concern for the economic and political well-being of all men everywhere, communism would have to change its tactics or overnight lose the millions of adherents who look to it for justice and peace. This, say pacifists, is the kind of genuine offensive that democracy should begin.

Risk 2: But Suppose the Russians Don't React that Way. Suppose in the face of this change of tactic on the part of the U. S., the Soviet leaders went boldly ahead, overran the rest of Europe and invaded or otherwise assumed control of the United States. Suppose the Russian people did *not* revolt, but went along with their leaders' aggression. What then?

There is an element of risk here, and pacifists admit it. The old order has gone on for a long time. Suspicion and hatred are rooted deep—maybe too deep to be dug out at once. Perhaps these things would happen. (Though a little sober thought about the physical and psychological difficulties of invading and controlling a country like the United States makes the prospect seem unlikely. What would the Russians gain to compensate for the tremendous cost in money and prestige? Suppose the situation were reversed, and Russia had disarmed—how would Americans react to a proposal to invade and subjugate it?)

(Continued on page 32)

The Southern Minister and Race

By EDWIN L. BROCK

YOU'RE NOT ONE OF US, preacher. We're Southern Democrats. You're a part of that Truman crowd." His face was pale and his lips tense with anger as he spoke. "I don't want you coming around my house again if you want to talk about race prejudice."

A short while before, I had entered his home. His wife, I had been told, was interested in joining the church. He was not home when I called. His wife was cordial but firm. She could not join the church now, she assured me. "That letter you wrote to the paper has upset us. I cannot join the church when the minister talks like that."

Just a week before there had appeared in the small, weekly local newspaper, *The Enterprise*, an editorial on States' Rights. The North, it had contended, was trying to shove the Negro down our throats. With bitterness the editorial continued:

"We feel that if the Yankees want to be intimate associates with the Negroes, that's their business. We don't want to do so! The Constitution of the United States was founded by white people, for white people, in a free country . . . because they wanted to worship, work, play, live as they wanted to, not to be dictated to as to how they must do because some one else willed it so. We don't want the Negroes in our homes as associates, relatives, or any other way

except the reason they were brought into this country in the first place, to work for which we hired them. We pay them their just dues, tolerate them in our community as long as they behave themselves and pay their own way."

It reiterated the usual charges that agitators from the North were making the Negro a problem:

"If we could keep the agitators and trouble-makers out of the South, we would never have any trouble with them. They respect us, love us, and are, in the most part, faithful. Only in cases where their feelings have been tampered with by these agitators, are there any causes for trouble. . . ."

"We want States' Rights, the right of every state in the union to attend to its own business, in its own way, without interference by those communistic influences who incite riot over the nation and cause race riots and focusing the center of ridicule upon the customs and traditions of the South. You don't find race riots in the South!"

It was in answer to this editorial that I had written the letter this lady referred to. I had expressed my regret that such bitterness should be expressed at a time when the country needed responsible and progressive journalism. I reminded the editor of the action of the General Conference of the Methodist Church which declared

that all men are "of supreme and equal worth in the sight of God." I pointed out that it had declared that "it is the duty of the Church to give prophetic witness in word and action until existing limitations such as restrictions in voting, education, employment, housing, and use of public facilities are removed."

But as I now talked with this lady and tried to explain the ideas of the letter, I could see that she was obviously hurt and upset. As I was leaving, her husband came in from work. Extending my hand to him, I greeted him. But he brushed my hand aside, saying roughly, "What do you want, preacher?" He then opened a bitter tongue lashing of me and those who want "our daughters marrying niggers." He followed me out to my car where we continued the exchange of opinion. It was only as I was preparing to drive away that he finally consented to shake my hand.

In the days that followed I heard all the usual Southern clichés expressed. Most of them were irrelevant to what I had written. But I have learned that when one mentions among Southerners justice to Negroes, he sets off a chain of emotional reactions. It is not that tact is lacking on the part of the critic of the Southern pattern. It is simply that Southerners today are definitely on the defensive. Emotionally the Southerner feels that he is cornered with the rest of the nation against him. "We don't want the nigger in our churches." "He's all right in his place but we don't want him in our homes." "The nigger stinks." Then came the final and inevitable "I think we need a new minister."

This experience is not unusual. It is true of any Southern white minister who dares to consider the relation of Christianity to race openly and frankly. But it is a pattern of reaction that makes understandable the dreadful silence of the Southern white minister in the face of the present debate over civil rights, the rebellion of the Southerners, and the hate and vindictiveness that is thrown about among us at the present time.

The Silent Church

At a time when there is so much hate and open expression of little-mindedness among us, the church and its leadership in the South is silent. At the very moment when there is a need for a prophetic voice expressing some of the love and magnanimity of the Christ, one listens almost vainly for the voice of the church.

"I have been burned once on this question," says one of my minister friends, "and I don't want to stick my neck out again. I was moved once from a church because I did talk a little about justice for the Negro. I'm playing safe now. If you want to get ahead in the ministry, don't talk about race."

The Methodist Church in its General Conference made emphatic its position:

"The principle of racial discrimination is in clear violation of the Christian belief in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the Kingdom of God, the proclamation of which in word and life is our gospel. We therefore have no choice but to denote it as unchristian and to renounce it as evil. *This we do without equivocation.*"

With such a position the Meth-

odist Church should have become the target for attack in the South, rather than President Truman. But the statement was a resolution that lacked sincere implementation on the local level. One of the Southern ministers at the conference referred to the church's demands on race as placing too great a burden on the shoulders of Southern ministers. He was voicing a general attitude of the Southern white minister of every denomination. "Race is too hot an issue to handle," the white minister says. "You won't do any good anyway." With rationalization he has soothed the conscience which tells him that the Christian gospel and racial segregation are incompatible.

Only Words

Occasionally he may observe Race Relations Sunday, but too often this consists of platitudes without action. So one minister of my acquaintance observed the day with a talk on brotherhood in which he found it possible to mention every minority and racial group—except the Negro, the only racial minority with which his community had any contact. He may invite Negroes to his church to sing at a service—a fine act in itself, except that it is done within the rigid racial segregation pattern without any of the meaning of Christian community. The Southern white minister has developed a strange sort of schizophrenia that permits him to live in the world of Christian idealism without applying those ideals to the realities of racial antagonisms about him.

Here and there some brave "fool" does try to express the prophetic position of the church. But

his action in itself becomes an indictment of the church. For he knows that to say what he does, he must take in his own hands his own future and his security in the ministry. He knows that with the exception of a few official pronouncements of his church he is virtually alone. The attack on the race problem in the South from the standpoint of the church is regrettably still an individual attack.

The official leadership of the church in the South is too often silent. It makes few public utterances that might bolster the flagging enthusiasm of the lone "fools for Christ's sake" and rally the progressive laymen of the church. It is one of the pathetic commentaries on the state of the church that several of the Methodist conferences were meeting at the very time the South was being torn by invective and expressions of bitterness from Southern Senators and Governors during the Dixiecrat campaign. But one did not hear any voice of prophecy, and in some instances one could not have told from what was said that the conferences were even aware that this resurgence of malice was strengthening the very things the church ought most firmly to oppose.

The South is in ferment. It is seeking a leader in this perplexing problem. Too often it is being led by reaction and bitterness. The church with an organized and prophetic voice and a concerted attack might well become the needed weight to throw the balance in the direction of a reconstructed society.

But for the present, unfortunately, silence means safety.

The Doctrine of Perfection—II

By A. J. MUSTE

NOT ONLY IN ITS PRESENTATION of the nature of the Christian experience of salvation is the neo-orthodox position open to important criticisms,¹ but also in its teaching with respect to the moral life and experience: what men ought to do and can do.²

The opening sentences of Dr. Williams' *God's Grace and Man's Hope*³ read: "The Christian religion has always created hope in the human spirit. It has produced men who lived in the world of affairs with a unique expectancy." He proceeds then to criticize Reinhold Niebuhr and certain other theologians for cutting this "nerve of hope." Similarly, the neo-orthodox orientation and mood tend to cut the nerve of moral action in the individual, largely as a result of what it has to say about sin.

As they use it, "sin" appears to refer to two different things: the ordinary garden variety of sin, which is the failure of human beings to do what they ought to do; and a sort of primal curse that rests upon man and history and binds them with a chain of evil,

¹ See "The Doctrine of Perfection—I", FELLOWSHIP, March, 1950.

² I ask the reader to keep in mind, however, what has already been said about the religious experience: what God does for man, and the source of the dynamic for moral action.

³ *God's Grace and Man's Hope*, by Daniel Day Williams, Harpers, 1949.

quite apart from any choices of good and evil on the part of individual human beings or groups.

Dr. H. D. Lewis of the University of Wales has stated one type of criticism of the neo-orthodox presentation of sin as a "mysterious cosmic disaster" so effectively that it would be foolish to attempt to improve upon it and unfortunate to paraphrase rather than quote him:⁴

A sinfulness which is as much that of the race as of the individual, which depends on a freedom quite different from the power to choose between good and ill, which is "introduced into the human situation" and made inevitable by a "force of evil prior to any human action," is devoid of relevance to the conduct of individual lives; and for that reason alone it must stand discredited at the bar of ethics.

To this Dr. Lewis adds:

The upshot of Niebuhr's doctrine is the presentation of sin, as many are only too prone to regard it today, as some mysterious cosmic disaster, some vague blot upon the universe which we just cannot conjure away, something also on account of which we must all bow our heads in shame, and, in particular, something towards which we should adopt certain religious attitudes and about which theological doctrines have to be formed. The preacher must stand in his pulpit at appointed times to pronounce himself "agin it," and

⁴ *Morals and the New Theology*, H. D. Lewis, Harpers, New York, 1949, p. 68.

to announce the way of salvation. But none of this appears to touch the individual in the conduct of his life, and however much he may be induced to give formal assent to his own involvement in the sins of the world, he remains fundamentally serene in the assurance that it does not really concern him for the simple reason that there was nothing he could have done about it.

To agree with this criticism is not to say that man's lot is not in certain aspects a tragic one. He is a finite creature whose days are as grass. He cannot transcend his finiteness. The circumstances of his life are often desperate, his social environment depressing and corrupting. Suffering of many kinds is likely to fall to his lot. But the issue of the moral life is not whether man can overcome his limitations and escape suffering: it is how he meets suffering, (and pleasure as well), and whether he can and does fulfill the will of God for a man equipped and situated as he is.

In dealing on the plane of moral conduct with the very real problem of human sin in its proper sense, the extreme neo-orthodox emphasis on human impotence and corruption is a dangerous distortion.

Thus, if man is to acknowledge the existence of such a thing as moral life and moral responsibilities, then he must have some genuine freedom of choice. If in fact he cannot choose to do the right thing, then he is not free, any more than he would be if he had no power to choose the wrong. Either man cannot be so impotent as many neo-orthodox utterances make him out to be, or he is not a morally responsible being.

Similarly, this overemphasis on human impotence and corruption is irreconcilable with the basic character of the moral consciousness itself: what happens in the "moment" when we experience the "sense of ought," the feeling that one "must" do this or that. To quote Mr. Lewis again: "As deep rooted an assurance of the moral consciousness as any" is that "the 'sense of ought' carries with it the assumption that I can, not that I cannot." Moral responsibility becomes a fantasy if we say in effect that the moral consciousness means: "You ought to do this, because—or although—you cannot." If I cannot, that is the end of it.

Men may and do have questions about what is right. They may choose wrongly in some instances, by mistake.⁵ But moments come that require a moral decision, and man finds himself confronted with an inexorable "ought," the will of God made known to him. In such a moment he knows perfectly well the difference between telling the truth or a lie, accepting a responsibility or dodging it, dwelling upon an impure thought or facing it for what it is and rejecting it. No amount of sophistry enables him, if he chooses the evil, to say later, "I could not help it." The categorical imperative is precisely: "You could help it."

This is so indubitably the case that Niebuhr, for example, on occasion clearly supports this position. "The chain of evil," he declares, "is not an absolute historical fate." And he asserts that the "self is always sufficiently emancipated

⁵ There are serious difficulties at this point, and with some of the problems of "compromise" and the like that will be dealt with in a later section.

of natural necessity not to be compelled to follow the course dictated by self-interest. If it does so nevertheless, it is held culpable both in the court of public opinion and in the secret of its own heart."

Negative Use of Facts

But this is not the prevailing impression left by the Niebuhrian pronouncements. Instead, there is here another striking instance of Niebuhr putting his finger on a very sore spot, an important psychological and spiritual fact, but using it on the whole in a negative and defeatist rather than a positive and creative way.

Thus, he points out correctly how in subtle ways we delude ourselves as a result of social and class bias and the like, and his castigations of liberals and pacifists is largely merited. But clearly, if self-deceit is an incurable defect of the human mind and spirit, then the neo-orthodox theologians themselves are also subject to it. Consequently, their criticism of others can be dismissed on the grounds either that it is an expression of self-deceit or that there is nothing anybody can do about it in any case. If, on the other hand, the criticism has validity and point, it is precisely because the possibility of rising above it exists and men ought, therefore, to accept and utilize the criticism. But it is the self-deceit the neo-orthodox theoreticians tend to emphasize rather than the fact that in some sense the human spirit sees through its own devious ways; the self-deceit rather than the "grace" that prevents us from resting comfortably in it.

We live in a time when the individual is in danger of becoming a

cipher. He is overwhelmed by the vast and intricate technological machinery around which his working life is organized, by the high-powered propaganda to which he is incessantly subjected, and by the state-machine on which he is increasingly dependent and by which he is increasingly regimented in peace and war.

In the face of such circumstances the individual *must* be able to believe in his own essential dignity and in his ability somehow to assert it. Instead, the neo-orthodox position has the effect, to use Dr. Lewis' vivid formulation once again, of drying up "the very springs of individual responsibility . . . in an apathetic surrender to oppressive doctrinal fictions." The neo-orthodox version of the religious experience of grace and justification, the extreme alienation of man from God so as to "veil the nature of God altogether from the eyes of man" and to make the Christian revelation wholly mysterious, "an insoluble enigma expressible only in paradox and antinomy," also supports this contemptuous view of man and human powers that gives support to the most dangerous trend of our times.

Moreover, by making the process of salvation a wholly irrational one, it gives support to the idea that man must find salvation in the irrational. This is the notion that was used so effectively by the Nazis and is embraced by all reactionary movements, and that appears in a somewhat different form in the worship of the monolithic party and the immolation of the individual's reason and conscience to it which we encounter in communism.

Having said all this, however, it is important also to take some of the central admonitions of neo-orthodoxy humbly and seriously to heart. A discussion of the experience of grace and the demands of the moral law necessarily must issue in personal application. Intellectual speculation upon these matters may help, but it cannot take the place of decisions taken in "real life," on the "existential" level. The great sin is not in the intellectual distortions that may characterize speculations about these matters, but in the practical distortions of life as God meant it to be—the failure even to will the good, much less to do it—of which we are guilty. Here each of us must be his own critic and no one else's. The only real "answer" to what neo-orthodox theology has to say about human corruption and moral impotence has to be given by our lives, individual and corporate: by the Church of Christ and by the members of that Church. And who is equal to that challenge? As someone remarked recently at the close of a long discussion, when a feeling of deep humility had settled on the group, "That's where Niebuhr has us!"

What do we who contend that Christian theology cannot dispense with a doctrine of perfection have to say at this point?

In the nature of the case perfection can never be a claim. To claim perfection for oneself except in a society of the perfected would be to set up an ego that arrogates virtue to itself, which is the very root of imperfection. Moreover, the possibility of perfection arises precisely in the moment of true humility, when one has yielded one-

self to God, and has ceased to make any claim for oneself.

The question as to whether in fact perfection can be achieved is one of those questions that should not be asked because it cannot be answered. The question cannot be answered in the negative because perfection is what God asks of us and we cannot place limits upon what "his grace made perfect in weakness" can accomplish. On the other hand, as soon as we begin to talk about perfection as an achievement or actuality all the difficulties already stated emerge.

Perfection Demanded

Nevertheless, perfection as the demand God makes upon us cannot be ruled out. "If ye keep my commandments," said Jesus in the solemn closing hours of his life, "ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love. . . . I am the vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in me and I in him, the same beareth much fruit. . . . Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do."

As the neo-orthodox theologians point out, the revelation in Christ stands in judgment over our achievements as well as our failures, and even in our righteousnesses, which are "as filthy rags," we stand in need of forgiveness. But we stand under judgment precisely because we should and could have done what we failed to do. And the word of forgiveness is necessarily accompanied by the charge, "Go and sin no more." Forgiveness in its most basic aspect

means this: that God will not let us drop out of the moral universe; he will not free us from the requirement that we be his children reborn in Christ.

In every important sphere of life the passion for perfection is the indispensable binding and transfiguring element. What would man's intellectual life and science be like but for the insatiable effort to wrest from the universe its innermost secrets? Suppose the scientist, instead of sitting down austere before some phenomenon, trying if necessary a hundred "solutions" and discarding in the process some of his oldest and most cherished ideas, told himself, "Well, man is but a poor, fallible creature. I am bound to deceive myself anyway. . . ." Clearly it is the passion for perfection, expressed in the iron determination not to be deceived, which alone makes man's science possible.

The same thing is true of the artist's desperate agonizing really to "see" a landscape or a human face and transfer it to canvas; of the composer's straining to hear the exact harmonies of his symphony; and of the poet's longing for the word, the phrase, the sonnet, that expresses his soul. And as with the artist, so with the artisan. Many have commented upon the frustration suffered by multitudes of human beings because the world seems no longer to need their artisanship.

So it is with human relations. How accurately the child senses whether there is genuine integrity in the relations of grown-ups to itself and to each other! How desperately we need truth in all group relationships and how swiftly and

surely the lack of it produces tension and frustration! How deeply each of us feels the need of giving and receiving love from parent, child, wife, husband, friend! And when all has been said that can be said by modern theologians or psychologists about our ambivalent and self-deceiving egos, we still long to give and to receive love, and not any substitute, and we have actually experienced enough of it to know that it has to be genuine and whole, that in Tennyson's homely yet perceptive lines, "In love, if love be love, if love be ours, faith and unfaith can ne'er be equal powers," and that we cannot tolerate even "the little rift within the lute that by-and-bye will make the music mute."

Moral Standards Blurred

A civilization that has blurred the ideas of obligation to the highest moral standards and accountability to God has no bond to hold it together. A generation that believes itself condemned to moral impotence is doomed to moral impotence and to disintegration.

So it is finally in the deepest and innermost realm of all, that of religious experience. The soul of man thirsts for God, not for a lesser being, and will not rest until it finds its rest in him. "My soul thirsteth for God; yea, e'en for the living God." Even *my* soul . . . for the living God.

There it is, as it was yesterday and will be forever. That "thirst" and its quenching in the water of life that proceeds from God and becomes in us as a well of water springing up into eternal life is what religion and all our theologues are about. Nothing else is fi-

nally worth writing about. There would be no human life if this binding element of the thirst for perfection and its satisfaction were not in it.

There is, of course, a better keyword to use here than the term "perfection." The keyword is "commitment" or "surrender." It is the purity of heart, the integrity, of which Jesus spoke. It is Kierkegaard's "Purity of heart is to will one thing."

When our theological discussions are ended as when they began, the one overarching question remains: Are we willing to make this unconditional surrender to the will of God as it is revealed? Are we willing to make the unequivocal and complete commitment of all we have and are to his service? Christ stands before each of us and says: "Will you take up your cross and follow me?"

And the first and gravest difficulty is simply that we will not say yes to that question, as Tertullian suggests in a notable passage:⁶ "The state of faith does not admit of necessities. No necessity of sinning have they, whose one

necessity is that of not sinning. . . . For (otherwise) *even inclination can be pleaded (as a) necessity having of course an element of compulsion in it.*" (Italics mine.)

We are warranted, therefore, in humbly asking those of our fellow-Christians who frame, or accept, elaborate and distorted doctrines about man's general inability to do the will of God and adhere to the ethic of the gospel, whether they are in this way rationalizing their own disinclination to obey the gospel at some very specific point—in not renouncing war, for example, when deep in their hearts they know there is no longer any way in which it can be reconciled with the gospel. Yet who among us is not stricken with shame by the knowledge that he, too, is holding back part of the price of complete commitment that God asks? What is there for us to do in face of the ghastly need of our age and the disaster that threatens it but pray unitedly for the spirit of repentance and faith, knowing that all things are possible to those who believe and are willing to submit to the baptism of the Holy Spirit?

(This is the second of four articles by Mr. Muste.)

⁶ De Corona Militia II, p. 91-3. Cited by C. J. Cadoux.

When it is relevant, truth has to be uttered, however unpleasant it may be. Irrelevance is always untruth and should never be uttered. Misdeeds of the Hindus in the Union have to be proclaimed by the Hindus from the housetop, if those of the Muslims in Pakistan are to be arrested or stopped. Confession of one's guilt purifies and uplifts. Its suppression is degrading and should always be avoided.

—M. K. Gandhi
From *Harijan*, December 21, 1947

The Difficult Upthrusting Way

By ALLAN A. HUNTER

A PEDESTRIAN on Hollywood Boulevard absentmindedly let his eyes drop from the shop windows to the sidewalk. There, bursting through a crack it had found in the heel-worn pavement, was a tiny weed exultantly in bloom, thumbing its nose at the solemn self-importance of this atomic age. What effrontery! That stray bit of undaunted life had no business in all the traffic. No business? It was doing work far more urgent than the making of big money or the expansion of political control.

Defenceless, unsupported by high-powered promotion, it was quietly exhibiting and distributing a commodity which our frightened world craves but which neither Hollywood nor Wall Street, neither the Kremlin nor Rome, is able to sell, produce, conscript or impose:

and that is the radical audacity of faith—the will to seek more life for life's own lovely sake. It was irrepressibly bearing witness to a fact that Mammon hiding behind Mars cannot understand. This universe has a growing edge. Upon that growing edge blind feet may march. It still is there.

Ever-resurgent conscience, the dictators can never quite trample into nothingness. Soon or late governments will have to reckon with that in evolution which says No to the broad and easy way. And why, in this and that youth, is it saying No today? So that it may say Yes to the difficult upthrusting way where alone is ultimate security.

Did not Jesus choose that way? May not the will that now says No to war be sharing Christ's resurrection power?

Rigor Mortis

Man may not know the hour he dies;
No inquest may declare him dead
When he has chosen to despise
His faith, and trust his fears, instead.

By stifled impulse, breath contracts.
By thwarted gesture, hands turn chill,
But nearest kin may miss these facts,
As if life kept its vigor, still.

Death does not need a shroud or pall
To claim the tribute of a tear.
The heart may answer that stern call
While body seems to function here.

—Elinor Lennen

News from the Peace Front

Controversy Aroused by H-Bomb Issue

Probably because, during the three weeks after the story came out and before President Truman gave the go-ahead, most people were simply trying to find their bearings and what the situation meant, there was much more, and much better, discussion after the fact than before. The first reaction, from Congressmen and editorial writers, was "We were forced into it." The second, by the same people and without seeming to them to contradict the first, was "But the bomb can't solve any of our problems."

Before long there was a groundswell of misgiving, which came out in columnists' articles, statements by church groups, and scientists' warnings that it might soon be possible to wipe out all life on the earth with an H-bomb. Statements from religious groups ranged from flat condemnation of the bomb, to "profound distress," and urgent suggestions that attempts be made at international control or agreement with Russia. Many scientists urged the President to announce that we would never use the bomb unless it were used by someone else first, although most added they would make the bombs if ordered. General Groves felt that the making of the bomb might help to prevent another war, adding that "the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States has been a great deterrent"; and Bernard Baruch lauded the President's step.

Within a week after Truman's decision was announced, Senator Millard Tydings (D., Md.), Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, introduced a resolution urging the President to call a world disarmament conference; and Senator Brien McMahon (D., Conn.), Chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, proposed that the United States offer to finance a new, five-year, \$50 billion "global Marshall plan" ("global" including Russia) in return for an atomic disarmament agreement. (Senator Tydings spoiled the effect of his proposal on March 7 by introducing a resolution to place one, and possibly two, military men on the Atomic Energy Commission, which is now, as a result of a stiff fight in Congress, entirely civilian.) But many Senators congratulated McMahon and the mail which poured in from all over the country, said reporters, was an indication of relief and concern which might force the government to take concrete steps.

Seeking to meet this terrible new challenge, and to break through the shell of fear which surrounds this country, Peacemakers, the New York FOR and the Catholic Worker group planned a week-long fast and retreat in Washington from April 1 to 9, in which many concerned people participated. They prayed for greater wisdom and strength, fasted for penitence and self-purification, and visited public officials to present their view. In the absence of any great cry from the churches they

hoped that their witness might have a prophetic impact.

In New York members of Community Church, moved by the gravity of the crisis, held a 35-hour prayer vigil in their church, which received widespread notice and brought them letters of thanks and encouragement from people all over the country.

Americans Build House for Hiroshima

The highly significant and successful "House for Hiroshima" project which was headed by Floyd Schmoe last year will be repeated this summer when a small group of Americans go to Japan to build another house and a hospital wing. The project will be supported, as it was last year, by contributions from people in this country and by the volunteer labor of Japanese. The group will sail on May 27 from San Francisco. They plan to build a new wing for the Hiroshima Memorial Hospital, (part of the Rev. Tanimoto's Peace Center), consisting of two surgeries, a delivery room, and sixteen additional beds; and a "Model Home," which will be given away. For information, write to Floyd Schmoe, 13434 Fortieth Street N.E., Seattle 55, Washington.

Last summer the group headed by Floyd Schmoe, which went to build a house in Hiroshima as a small token of restoration in the wake of the atomic bomb, had an interesting time. Because of the excellent cooperation they received and because of the cheapness of Japanese materials, by American

standards, they were able to build two houses instead of one, and to do the job in less time. They built two duplex houses, Japanese style, providing four living units of three rooms each. The houses are now occupied by four families, a total of 24 people, who lost their homes in the atom bombing. The houses had been given outright to the city's Welfare Department, which chose the occupants from 3,800 families which applied to them. The units are rented at 700 yen (\$1.85) per month.

Contributions to the project amounted to \$4,300, all of which was spent on the project. Some two thousand hours of work was contributed by project members and Japanese friends, and about fifteen hundred hours of skilled labor was hired. Project leader Floyd Schmoe reports that there were many evidences that the people understood and appreciated what they were doing, and that it was given wide publicity in Japan.

After completing the houses, the project members, with the help of an expert Japanese gardener, built a beautiful little garden. In the garden, by a tiny pool, they placed a stone lantern which the city street department had salvaged from the bomb rubble, after carving on it three characters which mean "That There May Be Peace."

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CO Guilty: Appeals Denied

Robert Michener, 18, of Fort Hays, Kansas, was found guilty of refusing to register, before Judge D. C. Hill in Federal Court in Wichita on January 26. A month later, on February 27, he was sentenced to a year and a day in prison, and his case is being appealed. Michener went to his draft board and answered questions, but refused to sign the draft card. His conviction is in direct opposition to the recent reversal in the case of Edgar Norton, who did the same thing and was freed on appeal.

Dr. Wirt Warren's appeal to the Supreme Court from a conviction for counseling nonregistration was denied on February 9. There is no other possibility of a reversal.

The Glendora Strike appeal was denied by the Supreme Court also, and with it went the last hope of getting the Supreme Court to review the legality of CPS. The case arose from a work strike and the conviction of the strikers, whose appeal raised questions as to the constitutionality of the Selective Service Act.

Larry Gara's appeal to the Supreme Court has not yet been acted upon by that body.

Duane Metzger of Redding, California, has returned his draft card and explained his position in a letter from Mexico, where he is engaged in a Quaker project.

William Bisso, who was drafted but refused to take the oath of induction into the Army, was paroled in October from McNeill Island prison.

Dwight Platt, FOR member and son of Selma Rich Platt of the Kansas FOR, refused to register when he became 18 on August 4.

Amos Brokaw of Muncie, Indiana, who served a term in prison during the war and another, which ended last November, under the SS Act of 1948, has recently received a draft questionnaire from his local board, and has been told by them that if he does not return it filled out they will turn him over to the District Attorney.

Francis Heisler, Chicago attorney who has defended scores of COs during and since the war, was honored at a testimonial dinner in Chicago on February 10, featured by an address by Milton Mayer and the presentation of a "testimonial purse." Heisler has handled several nonregistrant cases in recent months and is attorney for Larry Gara.

Conviction Reversed in Nonregistrant Case

Edgar R. Norton, 21, of Glens Falls, New York, had his conviction reversed by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York. He had refused to register, but talked to various members of the draft board about it. The Circuit Court held that it was not proved that he had not given all the information necessary, and that the regulations of Selective Service provide that if a man gives the information but "is unable or refuses to sign," the registrar can sign for him. If the government can prove that he did not give all the information necessary, he can be convicted again.

Cohnstaedt Wins Citizenship Case

Martin Cohnstaedt, who left Germany in 1934, later in this country became a member of the Society of Friends, and who declared that he would not serve in any capacity in the armed forces or work in a munitions factory, should be granted citizenship, according to a recent Supreme Court decision. The Court reversed, by a count of 5 to 3, the decision of the Kansas Supreme Court against him. Cohnstaedt's case differs from the famous Girouard case, the first in which the Supreme Court ruled that a CO should be granted citizenship, in that Girouard would have done noncombatant work in the armed forces, but Cohnstaedt would not. Chief Justice Vinson, Justice Clark and Justice Reed dissented in the Cohnstaedt decision, and Justice Douglas was absent. The case is an extremely important and clearcut one, which should make it impossible for anyone to be denied citizenship on the basis of conscientious objection.

Mothers Pledge to Educate Against War

A group of mothers who view with apprehension the possibility that their children may be called to fight in a third world war, have called on all mothers to pledge to educate their children to refuse to take part in war or militarization. The Committee which is initiating a campaign to collect pledges, which will be submitted to President Truman on Mother's Day, May 7, consists of Marion Bromley, Betty Dellinger, Esther Eichel, Mary

Etter, Bertha Fox, Pauline Garvin, Jean Houser, Janet Lovett, Paula Peck and Helen Smiley.

The pledge reads: "Faced with a threat of a third world war which would destroy mankind, we mothers feel a responsibility to take the strongest action in our power to avert it. We have not brought children into this world to be cannon fodder. We hate the thought that they may become mass murderers. We therefore pledge to do all in our power to educate our sons and daughters to refuse to take part in war, or in any phase of the militarization of America. In making this pledge, we hope to set an example for mothers throughout America, Russia, and every country of the world."

The group, which calls itself Mothers Against War, may be reached at 119 Nassau Street, Room 1028, New York 7, New York.

Correction(s)

In the December issue of FELLOWSHIP it was reported that the FOR had filed a brief amicus in the case of the COs who walked out of Glendora CPS. The Executive Committee, at the request of the CCCO, approved the filing of such a brief if it should seem useful, but apparently it was not needed, and was not filed.

In the January issue of FELLOWSHIP it was reported that Larry Gara was kept in jail from the time of his arrest in January to his sentencing on May 6. This was in error, as he was out on bail during that time. After sentence had been passed, he was denied bail pending his appeal.

Brotherhood Pledge Gains Wide Support

The pledge circulated by the FOR Race Relations Department for Brotherhood Month was signed by well over a hundred individuals, including a group of 24 at Ball State Teachers College in Muncie, Indiana. They pledged to refuse to use segregated facilities wherever possible, and to let those responsible for segregation know why they refused. Probably many more people carried out the pledge without saying so specifically, and of course many people adhere to such a policy all the year around.

One of the most dramatic results of the pledge was reported by Mabel Downs, an FOR member, from Portland, Oregon. She is a member of the First Baptist Church in that city, and in the past few years a very fine Negro youth worker had been refused membership, and a Negro singer barred from the choir by the deacons for fear she should want to join the church. There had been considerable dissatisfaction with these actions, especially among young people, and various members of the church were active in race relations work.

After signing the Fellowship Month pledge, Mabel Downs realized that she could not go to her own church if she intended to keep it, and she wrote to the deacons, the trustees, and the pastor, to tell them how she felt. On February 19, the third Sunday of the month, the minister called her and asked her to come to church that morning. She went, and just before the offering he reminded the congregation of Brotherhood Sunday and Race Relations Sunday, and then

read from the church's by-laws the passage stating that membership is open to all. He then went on to say that in any Baptist church the entire group is the final authority on policies, and then called on all who agreed with the by-laws to stand. Practically the entire congregation rose; then sang the Doxology and gave the offering. "Of course the cause is not all won and there will be much to do to make a happy situation," concludes Mabel Downs, "but we're on our way!"

Otsuka, Tax-Refuser, Released from Prison

James Otsuka, tax-refuser who served four and a half months for refusing to pay \$4.50 in 1948 taxes, plus a fine and court costs, was freed on January 16. He was to have been released on December 29, and on that date a group of tax-refusers went to the prison at Ashland, Kentucky, where Otsuka was being held, and picketed with signs welcoming Jim and congratulating him on his stand and his steadfastness in sticking to it. They were threatened by police and prison officials, but the demonstration was fairly reported in the papers, and public opinion gradually seemed to swing toward sympathy. In the afternoon Jim was taken by prison officials to a nearby town, where they obtained his recommittal for non-payment of \$140 in fine and court costs which had been imposed at the time of his original sentencing.

The demonstrations outside the prison continued, and on January 16, without giving any reasons, the government released him.

Garry Davis Returns to U.S. on Visit

On March 7 Garry Davis, world citizen, applied for an American immigration visa, and sailed soon after for the United States, where he arrived on March 31. He traveled on the French immigration quota, which is unfilled, although he is a stateless citizen. He is not returning here because of any "failure" in Europe, Mr. Davis said. In fact he has a wide and enthusiastic following in Europe, especially in France and Germany, and he estimated that half a million Europeans had registered as world citizens. Recently he camped on the French-German border, waiting for permission to enter Germany, which he had bombed as a wartime bomber pilot in the U. S. Air Force.

On Christmas Eve, 1949, Richard Mayer, son of an American FOR member, neared Strasbourg on a hitchhiking tour. People began stopping him more and more frequently, under the impression that he was Garry Davis. When he reached the French-German border he found Davis, sitting by a fire outside his tent with a typewriter, waiting for permission to enter Germany. At the door of the tent stood a small decorated Christmas tree, and other people of many nationalities had brought him other gifts. The two young men found they resembled each other, and talked for awhile. When Dick Mayer left Garry sent with him a Christmas message to the world, asking that the spirit of friendship be made a standard to be observed the year around.

"The one thing the Germans don't need is Garry Davis," said Davis on March 7, explaining that he felt he had been misled in want-

ing to go to Germany. "They need a community of world citizens, not a 'world citizen No. 1' who fits into their 'leader psychology.' In Germany, even the world citizen movement was looking for a 'Fuehrer'."

Before leaving France he told reporters that he was coming to this country because he felt world citizenship had not had a fair hearing here. However, on arrival he said he had come for private reasons, to visit family and friends, and would engage in no public activity. He did not say how long he would stay.

Organize Travel for Peace Workers

An international organization of peace-minded people is being set up to stimulate and facilitate travel by young people in foreign countries. Peacebuilders, as the new organization is called, will compile lists of people in every country who are willing to take into their homes, for two days at a time only, young men and women of other countries who are traveling. The idea is not to set up a travel bureau, but to steer the young travelers to the homes, centers and offices of peace-minded people and organizations so that they will get a full understanding of the peace sentiment and work of the country.

Working committees have already been set up in Scandinavia, Denmark, Germany and the United States. American pacifists can aid this plan by opening their homes, co-op houses and co-op communities to travelers for hospitality. Write to 1109 Sterling Avenue, Berkeley 8, California.

Jottings

Clarence E. Pickett, FOR member, has resigned as Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, a post he has held for over twenty years. His successor will be Lewis M. Hoskins, present director of personnel for the Committee. He is also an FOR member, and has taught history at Friends University, the University of Michigan, and Pacific College, and has been with the AFSC since 1945, in China, in their Portland office, and in Philadelphia.

* * *

Dr. Harold A. Bosley, FOR member and Dean of Duke Divinity School in Durham, N. C., has recently accepted a call to the First Methodist Church in Evanston, Illinois, which fell vacant on the death of Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, also an FOR member. Dr. Bosley will leave Duke in June and take up his new duties in September.

* * *

The House bill to allow \$1,229,240 earned by COs during the war to be contributed to CARE for assisting institutional libraries abroad was defeated. The money was originally put into the Treasury because COs' earnings were strictly limited.

* * *

In 1949 Church World Service shipped material aid valued at over \$8,000,000 to more than fifty war-stricken countries. Chief recipients in Europe were Germany, Austria and Greece, and in the Far East, Japan, Korea and China.

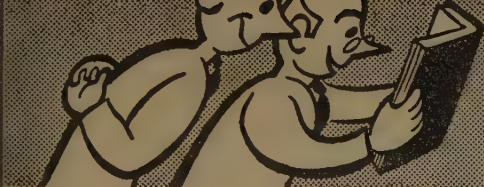
Dr. Alfred G. Fisk, FOR member, of San Francisco State College will again conduct a seminar in Europe this summer, as he has done successfully for several years. Visits to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Spain are included, to study conditions and to interview leaders of government, the church, relief, labor, and peace groups. Inquiries should go to Dr. Fisk at San Francisco State College, San Francisco 2, California.

* * *

Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary and of the International Missionary Council, on January 1 urged that the United States recognize the Communist government in China. He gave as his reasons the excellent behavior of the Communist armies, the fact that missionary activity has not been disrupted, the widespread view that China's communism will take a "different expression" from that of Russia and eastern Europe, and the disillusionment of the Chinese people with the Nationalist government and consequent support of the new regime.

* * *

Heifers for Relief has sent 5,174 goats to Japan and Okinawa, and about 6,000 heifers to Europe. It is now concentrating on a project of 1,200 heifers for Western Germany, where thousands of refugee farmers of German descent have been relocated from surrounding countries.



Books

Critic of War

The Second World War, 1939-1945.

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. Eyre and Spottiswoode, England.

It is rarely that a pacifist can extract much comfort from the accounts of war operations by soldiers. He may find much to condemn in the methods of warfare described, but his condemnation will not, as a rule, be shared by the author. In this book, however, pacifist and soldier-author will often find themselves in agreement and General Fuller is as sweeping in his condemnation of modern war as any pacifist could be.

He is a severe critic of the policy of "unconditional surrender." He shows how in 1943 the Germans had lost the initiative and the time was ripe to offer reasonable terms. The revolt against Hitler which very nearly succeeded in 1944, even when handicapped by the prospect of unconditional surrender, was already in being and the attempt might have succeeded in 1943 with encouragement from the Allies. In that case National Socialism would have been destroyed by the German people. "Instead what did they do? At the Casablanca Conference of June, 1943, they made public that the war aim of the Allied Powers was the unconditional surrender of their enemies. Henceforth these two words were to hang like a putrefying albatross around the necks of America and

Britain." The Germans were unified and German resistance was stiffened.

On bombing policy General Fuller has much to say. He gives some staggering instances of bombing inaccuracy. When Cassino was being bombed the caravan headquarters of the Eighth Army Commander, three miles away, was demolished and an entire formation of heavy bombers dropped the whole of their load on the French H. Q. at Venafro, which they mistook for Cassino although the two towns were 12 miles apart.

Of the indiscriminate destruction produced by high explosive bombing General Fuller speaks in the strongest terms. It was effective neither in its material nor its psychological aspect. Obliteration bombing—attributed to Mr. Churchill (see Spaight, *Bombing Vindicated*)—is condemned on the ground that its effect on German production was relatively small and that it did little to undermine German morale, but most of all because it was morally indefensible. He speaks of "these appalling slaughterings which would have disgraced Attila." Japan offers the same lessons. "According to Japanese estimates 260,000 people were killed, 412,000 injured, 9,200,000 left homeless, and 2,210,000 houses demolished or burned down. And be it remembered, the majority of the people killed were burnt to death. Yet in spite of this, the primary factor in the lowering

of morale was shortage of food, and the secondary, the defeat of the armed forces."

But it is in his attitude to the use of the atom bomb that he will have the strongest support from pacifists. He gives reasons for believing that in June, 1945, Japan was more than ready for peace and quotes authorities, American and Japanese, in support of this view. "In June the war could have been brought to an end on terms highly advantageous to Britain and the United States. By then, except for one obstacle, the military might of America had cleared the way to certain and rapid victory. But militarily the obstacle was irremovable, it was Allied policy of unconditional surrender."

Dealing with the plea that the bomb was dropped to save unnecessary loss of life he says, "Though to save life is laudable, it in no way justifies the employment of means which run counter to every precept of humanity and the customs of war. Should it do so, then on the pretext of shortening a war and of saving lives, every imaginable atrocity can be justified. . . . If the saving of lives were the true pretext, then, instead of reverting to a type of war which would have disgraced Tamerlane, all President Truman and Mr. Churchill need have done was to remove the obstacle of unconditional surrender, when the war could have been brought to an immediate end."

Surveying the whole war he comes to the conclusion that one of its two outstanding characteristics was its unrivalled inhumanity. "The age of the superior man had ended and the age of the inferior

man had come in its stead. The gentleman—the direct descendant of the idealised Christian Knight—the model of warlike excellences to which many generations had aspired—had been ousted by the cad. Chivalry had given way to opportunism, and everywhere the self-interested cadocrat held sway. Therefore, at bottom, the war was as much a blind revolt against Christian culture as a crusade."

What a number of unseen and unheard allies we pacifists had during the war! And what a pity they remained unheard and unseen. The signatories of the "Church and the Atom" report have also now condemned publicly the policy of unconditional surrender, the use of obliteration bombing and the use of the atom bomb against Japan. Yet not one of these distinguished churchmen raised a voice of protest when the pacifist movement was pressing for a negotiated peace and endeavoring to enlist public support for the

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preservation of some humanitarian conventions in the matter of bombing. Surely the real nature of modern war is now revealed in all its stark savagery.

—ALEX WOOD

Brief Reviews

The Case of General Yamashita, by A. Frank Reel. University of Chicago Press, 1949. 324 pp., \$4.00.

Here is the story of one of the most celebrated war crimes trials, where the conviction and sentence to hanging was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States by the General's American lawyers, who were appalled and outraged by the conduct of his military trial. One Supreme Court Justice said the General had been "rushed to trial under an improper charge, given insufficient time to prepare an adequate defense, deprived of the benefits of some of the most elementary rules of evidence . . ." He called the trial "stark retribution" masquerading "in a cloak of false legalism." But he was in the minority. The conviction was upheld with only Justices Murphy and Rutledge dissenting. This is important testimony to the conduct of the victor nations of the last war.

—C. M.

Christ in Catastrophe, by Emil Fuchs. Pendle Hill, 1949. 32 pp., 35c.

Emil Fuchs was a minister and professor in Germany who lost his teaching position and then was imprisoned, when the Nazis came to power. Later he and his sons helped refugees to escape, and in 1936 his sons had to flee. Emil Fuchs stayed on, caring for his four-year-

old grandson, his family broken and scattered, facing the overwhelming success of evil. Somehow, in the face of great personal and national tragedy, he found, in time, serenity and happiness in his belief in Christ, and a simple, but deep and complete security. This is his story, simply and movingly told.

—C. M.

The Norwegian Resistance

A People Who Loved Peace, by Roy Walker. Victor Gollancz, London, 1946. 111 pp., 75c.

The marvellously courageous and steadfast resistance of the people of Norway to the Nazi occupation of their country is recounted in this book, a resistance for the most part nonviolent and, on the record, the more successful as it was nonviolent. The Norway story is a latter-day demonstration of the efficacy of this method which should be known to every pacifist, and which every pacifist should make widely known to his nonpacifist friends.

After a brief armed resistance in the spring of 1940 Norway submitted to the occupation, her king and government went into exile in England, and by September of that year the Quisling government was in power. From the first moment when the government and the Nazis tried to impose fascist ideas and practices on Norwegian institutions, they were met with open refusal to cooperate in almost every group. The church, in spite of numerous attempts to take it over, including the internment of presiding Bishop Berggrav and members of the Christian Council, was outspoken throughout in its opposition to fascism. When the govern-

ment continued to push for control the Council of Bishops openly broke with it, and in late March of 1942, 797 ministers out of 861 publicly laid down their official clerical posts.

The teachers also presented an almost united front in opposition to the Quisling government's attempts to introduce fascism into the schools. Only 500 out of 14,000 teachers joined the Quisling teachers' organization, although failure to do so, it was decreed, would mean the loss of their jobs. Since refusal was almost universal, the government could not enforce the decree. The school children, likewise, openly refused to accept the government's ideas or to obey its decrees. Only about 1,000 out of 400,000 school children joined the "Youth Service," the Quisling government's youth group, and the parents of many were interned for refusing to let their children join. About 300,000 parents, (about 70%), signed a statement to the government protesting the mobilization of the children.

The group which apparently presented the least resistance, and whose resistance, where it did exist, was more in the line of sabotage and violent action, was that of the industrial workers. The author suggests that it may have been because "they had been taught to identify realistic thinking with calculations of material benefit and demonstrable expediency which left them largely at the

mercy of those who held material and military power. . . ."

The resistance of the great majority of the Norwegian people, who stood like a rock whenever the Quisling government or the Nazis attempted to force them to act against their consciences and democratic traditions, is an inspiring and deeply moving story, and one which will give encouragement to all who have tried to prove to themselves and to others that such a course of action is not only idealistic but effective. Although the campaign had its martyrs, (and pacifists should never delude themselves that even in the case of resistance by the whole population no one will suffer), they were few compared with those in the underground resistance movements which were based on violence and sabotage; and the country regained its equilibrium very quickly when the occupation was withdrawn. Of this the author says: "It seems to me abundantly clear that Norway's good fortune is no accident of geography or circumstance, but the natural and probable consequence of a resistance that did not deny the values of civilization but asserted them, and maintained them by voluntary suffering and under severe trials."

FELLOWSHIP readers who were interested in Diederich Lund's article on this subject in the December 1948 issue will find the expanded and documented story here.

—C. M.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Letters



Why "Another Side"?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Three letters from pacifists in one issue introduced by such statements as "I do not expect to find articles . . . emotionally predisposed to defend—" "In publishing without comment . . . you seem to have slipped a little from your usual high level of responsible and well-informed editing," and "FELLOWSHIP has rendered a questionable service," etc.—seems to me just about three too many such. I cannot see why any reader concluded that the editor agreed fully with the article in question, nor why he should agree even at all with any particular article he publishes. It would be the poorest editorial policy if he did publish only that with which he can agree. FELLOWSHIP *might* be criticized for too much "slant" in a certain direction, not for representing various views.

Personally, entirely aside from the question of accepting or not accepting the point of view, I found it exceedingly refreshing to read one article about life "Behind the Curtain" which seemed to suggest slightly, at least, that there might be something favorable which could be said for the other side.

Also I find myself asking, Why for the pacifist is there "another side"? What do we have to be so defensive about? It has seemed to me all along an evidence of a lack of clear faith in our own pacifist cause that we feel it necessary to join all the rest of America in leaning over backwards in our fear that we will be thought to be in any way sympathetic with "another side" than our own. We have our own "iron curtain" which is

no less "iron" because it is purely psychological and bound up with the simple use of the symbol of intentional censorship, "Communist." The use of that symbol is obviously intended to keep us all (1) from criticizing foreign policy which is based upon destroying communism in all the earth; and (2) from allowing any suggestion by ourselves or to ourselves that there is anything favorable to be said about the side which we are officially required to consider "other" than our side. As a pacifist, most of all and first of all, I refuse to join that chorus, or any other chorus which sings of anything less than universal humanity.

RALPH TEMPLIN
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Report from Japan

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We had delightful hours indeed with Dr. and Mrs. John Nevin Sayre here at Annaka. Dr. Sayre talked on "The Mission of Christian Pacifism" to the overflowing Christian and non-Christian audience at our church in the evening. Next morning he spoke on international peace to 300 boy students, their teachers and a number of ladies down at Niiijima Gakuen, a new Christian high school we started in 1947. His message each time was lofty and penetrating. The party then visited the church kindergarten and there Mrs. Sayre gave the children a short but very amusing talk; they paid homage then to the grave of the late Reverend Gien Kashiwagi in an old Buddhist cemetery. Reverend Kashiwagi was a beloved disciple of Dr. J. H. Neesima, and

was in pastorate at the Annaka Christian Church for forty years. He was a man of love, righteousness and humility, at the same time a staunch pacifist and FOR member. *The Ryomo Kyokai Geppo*, a popular Christian monthly of his own editing for some forty years, was finally suppressed by the officials at the time of the Sino-Japanese War, a few years before his death.

We have three FOR members in and around Gummaken: Principal Saishi Syu of Kyoai Christian High School for Girls in Maebashi, Reverend Hayao Kashiwagi, son of the Reverend G. Kashiwagi mentioned above, pastor of Haraichi Christian Church, and myself. An FOR chapter may be organized here at any time if we will. We are all, however, absorbed in evangelism and education. I myself think that Christian pacifism can grow only in a good Christian soil. Japan, the rural Japan in particular, is yet intensely heathenish in its mentality. The Christian evangelization is the first prerequisite for nurturing it with the ideal of peace and reconciliation.

The FOR in Tokyo meets monthly usually at Akasaka Rikyu (the former royal palace of the Crown Prince). I had a joy to attend the meeting three times since last Christmas. Mrs. Tomiko Kohra, Ph.D., member of the House of Councillors, the Japanese Congress, and Rev. Masahiko Sekiya, a Quaker, went to the World Pacifist Convention in Calcutta. They were recently elected Vice-Presidents of the Japanese FOR.

J. S. EGAWA
Gummaken, Japan

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Calculated Risk (Cont. from page 9)

But even if these things did happen, the world and its cities would still be standing. The air would not be poisoned with radiation; pestilences would not have been let loose on mankind. Even overrun, the United States and the idea of democracy would have won the moral allegiance of the rest of the world, as it had it in the first century of the Republic, and which it has largely lost in the last ten years. The struggle for men's minds would have been lost by communism and won by democracy, and it is still true that no army can conquer an idea whose time has come.

And, of course, a nation with the moral courage to try unilateral disarmament and creative good will would be a nation capable of resisting nonviolently, releasing the kind of "soul force" that Gandhi and his followers displayed in India. Men and women would refuse, firmly but without enmity, to cooperate with the conqueror, and they would appeal constantly to the common humanity of the conqueror's soldiers, always ready to die rather than kill.

There would be casualties in such a campaign, surely. There would be killing, and rapine, and imprisonment. Thousands, perhaps would suffer, but they would still be only a tiny fraction of the casualties of atomic war, and when the struggle had been won, it would be won for good, and lasting peace would at last have become a reality. Measured against such a goal, the risk seems not too great.

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